

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2823

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6175

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XG

SUBJ: ECPC: IMPRESSIONS AND COMMENTS

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE DISCUSSES SOME EARLY WESTERN AND SOVIET REACTIONS IN EAST BERLIN TO THE ECPC, AND COMMENTS ON CERTAIN POINTS IN THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS THAT ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST. END SUMMARY.

A. IMPRESSIONS

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1. AMONG WESTERN OBSERVERS IN BERLIN WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED, THERE SEEMS TO BE CONSENSUS THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE HELD HERE ON SHORT NOTICE JUNE 29-30 REFLECTED A DECISION BY THE SOVIETS THAT THE DRAFT CONFERENCE DOCUMENT WAS AS GOOD AS IT WAS LIKELY TO GET, AND THE CONFERENCE SHOULD THEREFORE BE HELD QUICKLY AND CONSIGNED TO ITS PLACE IN HISTORY.

2. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT WHILE MANY SPEECHES GAVE AN UNEXPECTEDLY FRANK AND OPEN PICTURE OF DISHARMONY, BREZHNEV CAME TO BERLIN AWARE OF WHAT WAS GOING TO HAPPEN, AND WAS PREPARED TO TOLERATE DISSENT, PARTICULARLY BY NON-GOVERNING PARTIES WHOSE ROLE WAS A DIFFERENT WEIGHT FROM THAT OF THE GOVERNING PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, THE REMARKS OF TITO, BERLINGUER, MARCHAIS AND CARILLO MAY HAVE GONE FURTHER THAN BREZHNEV EXPECTED IN PRESENTING AN ELEMENT OF CHALLENGE.

3. THE FULL PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE WERE ON VIEW TO JOURNALISTS ON CLOSED CIRCUIT TELEVISION, AND TEXTS OF ALL SPEECHES WERE PRINTED IN THE GDR PRESS, A HEAVY DOSE FOR THE LOCAL CITIZENRY COMING NOT LONG AFTER PUBLIC DISSEMINATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THERE WAS A LOOSE WESTERN STYLE AND AD HOC FLAVOR TO THE CONFERENCE, WITH THE RHETORIC CIVILIZED, AND EVIDENT CONFIDENCE ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE EAST GERMAN HOSTS MAINTAINED AN INCONSPICUOUS FACILITATING ROLE, ALTHOUGH THEY, WITH THE BULGARIANS, WERE PROBABLY THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF THE SOVIET LINE. ONE WAS CONSCIOUS OF THE BACKDROP OF A MISMANAGED ATTEMPT TO RAISE PRICES IN POLAND. WHILE THE VOLUME OF REPORTING IN THE EAST GERMAN PRESS WAS HEAVY, THERE WAS A MUTED QUALITY TO ITS TONE, WITH THE IMPENDING VISIT OF MRS. GANDHI GRADUALLY DOMINATING THE FRONT PAGES.

B. THE SOVIET LINE IN BERLIN

4. GDR OFFICIALS, AND SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS IN BERLIN WHOM WE HAVE SEEN WERE READY WITH A CALM, CONFIDENTIAL

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LOW-KEY INTERPRETATION OF CONFERENCE RESULTS. THEY PROCLAIM ECPC A SUCCESS AND COME CLOSE TO PLACING DISSENTING VIEWS IN A POSITIVE LIGHT BY DESCRIBING DIVERGENCE WITHIN THE MOVEMENT AS SOMETHING TO BE TOLERATED AND A SIGN OF ITS STRENGTH. BUT ONE SOON HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD RATHER DISCUSS SOMETHING ELSE.

5. IN A TALK WITH THE DCM, MINISTER-COUNSELOR ANATOLIY GROMYKO OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS "SATISFIED" WITH THE CONFERENCE. IF THERE AS UNHAPPINESS OR EMBARRASSMENT OVER THE OUTCOME, AS REPORTED BY WESTERN MEDIA, HE WAS NOT AWARE OF IT, HE SAID. BREZHNEV HAD LEFT BERLIN ON THE MORNING OF JULY 1, HAPPY AND JOKING AT THE AIRPORT.

6. GROMYKO SUGGESTED THAT BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENT. HE EMPHASIZED BREZHNEV'S REFERENCES TO DETENTE, AND THE RECURRENCE OF THIS THEME IN THE DOCUMENT. CONCERNING DIVERSITY OF VIEWS, GROMYKO SAID THAT, LIKE THE U.S., THE SOVIET UNION WAS A GREAT POWER, AND IN A SITUATION SUCH AS THE ECPC THE PROPER GREAT POWER ROLE WAS TO EXPECT AND ACCEPT COMPROMISE. GROMYKO POINTED OUT THAT NON-GOVERNING PARTIES BY NATURE ENJOYED A FREEDOM OF RESPONSIBILITY FROM GOVERNING WHICH ALLOWED THEM TO SPEAK WITH LESS ACCOUNTABILITY. HIS IRRITATION WITH CARILLO'S NEEDLING WAS OBVIOUS, AND WE HAVE NOTED THE SAME REACTION IN OTHERS.

7. "IT IS NOT A BLACK AND WHITE WORLD," GROMYKO SAID; THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN PREPARED FOR DIVERGENT VIEWS IN THE DISCUSSION. THE DOCUMENT, OF COURSE, HAD BEEN PREPARED IN ADVANCE AND WAS ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS. GROMYKO SAID THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENT "REFLECTED REALITIES" AND FORMED A "NEW BASIS FOR POLITICS IN EUROPE," DRAWING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN SUCH POLITICS AND THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES.

8. ASKED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OMISSION OF ANY REFERENCE TO "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" IN THE DOCUMENT, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF SUSLOV'S EMPHASIS ON
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THIS CONCEPT DURING THE RECENT NINTH SED PARTY CONGRESS IN BERLIN AND BREZHNEV'S USE OF THE TERM IN HIS ECPC SPEECH, GROMYKO REPLIED DISPARAGINGLY THAT THIS WAS AN "IDEOLOGICAL" MATTER FOR THEORETICIANS, AND NOT OF GREAT POLITICAL MOMENT.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2824

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AMCONSUL LENINGRADE

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9. HE MADE A POINT OF SAYING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN "RELIEVED" TO LEARN FROM THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT OF JUNE 30 THAT BREZHNEV'S CONCERN THAT AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICS IS DELAHING A STRATEGIC ARMS ACCORD IS APPARANTLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION.

C. THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

10. WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON THE DOCUMENT, BASED ON OUR OWN FURTHER REVIEW AND CONVERSATIONS
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WITH OTHERS.

(A) WE UNDERSTAND FROM AN ITALIAN EMBASSY SOURCE WHO WAS TOLD THIS BY SEGRE, THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT PASSAGE FOR THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OVER THE PAST SIX

MONTHS, AND THE ONE WHOSE ADOPTION AMOUNTED TO A SUBSTITUTE FOR ANY REFERENCE "TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM", IS THE FOLLOWING: "IN THIS SPIRIT, THEY (THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE) WILL DEVELOP THEIR INTERNATIONALIST, COMRADELY AND VOLUNTARY COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY ON THE BASIS OF THE GREAT IDEAS OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN, STRICTLY ADHERING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND RESPECT FOR THEIR FREE CHOICE OF DIFFERENT ROADS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE OF A PROGRESSIVE NATURE AND FOR SOCIALISM." THE EXPANDED FORMULATION OF "INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY" SEEMS TO REPRESENT A FURTHER CONCESSION BEYOND THE ELIMINATION OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." REFERENCE OF "MARXISM-LENINISM" IS ALSO OMITTED.

(B) THE ROLES OF SOCIALISTS CAPITALISTS AND THE NON-ALIGNED ARE DEFINED. ACCORDING TO THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENT, "THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE PLAYING AN OUTSTANDING ROLE IN PREVENTING A NEW WORLD WAR, IN STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND IN CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE." AS FOR THE CAPITALIZES, "EVER BROADER SECTIONS OF SOCIETY ARE REALIZING THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF REPLACING CAPITALIST SOCIETY BY SOCIALIST SOCIETY, WHICH WILL BE BUILT UP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DESIRES OF EACH PEOPLE." THE "CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM" IS DESCRIBED IN SOME DETAIL AND IS AID TO LEAD TO "PROFOUND CONTRADICTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS". INCLUDING THOSE OF THE EEC COUNTRIES. FINALLY, "THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, WHICH INCLUDES THE MAJORITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, IS NOW ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS."

(C) THE DOCUMENT SPEAKS OF "ANTI-COMMUNISM" RATHER THAN "ANTI-SOVIETISM," AND DEFINES THE CONCEPT AS FOLLOWS: "THE COMMUNIST PARTIES DO NOT CONSIDER ALL THOSE WHO ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THEIR POLICIES OR WHO HOLD A CRITICAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR ACTIVITY AS BEING ANTI-COMMUNIST. ANTI-COMMUNISM IS AND REMAINS AN INSTRUMENT

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WHICH IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES USE NOT ONLY AGAINST COMMUNISTS BUT ALSO AGAINST OTHER DEMOCRATS AND AGAINST DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS." SPECIFIC REFERENCE IS MADE TO THESE FORCES AS CONDUCTING CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

(D) THERE IS AN INTERESTING REFERENCE TO CATHOLICISM IN THE STATEMENT THAT "EVER BROADER CATHOLIC FORCES, MEMBER OF OTHER CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES AND ADHERENTS TO OTHER FAITHS PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE."

(E) THE ONLY DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE FRG IS TO
"ANTI-DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION BARRING COMMUNISTS AND
OTHER DEMOCRATS FROM CERTAIN TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY."

(F) WE UNDERSTAND THAT AT THE REQUEST OF THE
YUGOSLAVS, THE CONFERENCE CALLED FOR ACTION TO "ENSURE
THE STRICT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION BY ALL STATES OF THE
PRINCIPLES RELATING TO NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE FINAL
ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE." REFERENCES TO THE
FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI GENERALLY ARE NOTEWORTHY FOR THEIR
EMPHASIS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF "ALL PROVISIONS," WHICH
ARE SAID TO "FORM A COHERENT WHOLE.COOPER

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